THE MAINTENANCE OF THE OKINAWAN ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN HAWAII

ハワイ・沖縄民俗社会の文化維持の形態

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本稿の原文は1989年に社会学修士論文としてハワイ大学大学院に提出されたものだが、ここではその短縮されたものを紹介する。この論文は筆者がハワイの〈Okinawan Ethnic Community〉とよんでいる現象を吟味したものである。ここで〈Okinawan Ethnic Community〉というのは沖縄人としての意識を持ち、しかもなんらかの意味で、沖縄人としての活動に積極的にたずさわっている人々からなるコミュニティーのことを指す。ハワイの"Okinawans"（沖縄からの移民達とかれらの子孫達のことで以下「沖縄人」と呼ぶ）はハワイ社会に、その一員としてとけこんでいるにもかかわらず、近年この〈Okinawan Ethnic Community〉としての働きが活発になってきた。この現象は、エシニシティ集団（ethnic groups）のアイデンティティーというものは時間の経過とともに周囲の社会に完全に同化していくと主張する「同化理論」には反するものと思われる。又、経済的にも社会的にも多様性を持っている沖縄人は一つの階級とは言えないのだから、エスニシティ集団としてのアイデンティ

ティー（ethnic identity）は階級的アイデンティティーが変装されたものだという理論もすくなくともハワイの沖縄人にはあてはめることができない。ハワイの沖縄人たちは多様な文化をもったハワイ社会の中で、しかもさまざまな状況に適応する形で生きている。したがって部分的には、アイデンティティーは状況によって異なると主張するアプローチを使えると思われる。ただし沖縄人としてのアイデンティティーは状況の単なる関係ではなく、むしろ、ある程度まで、アメリカ的な思想もしくはハワイ的な思想と沖縄的な文化シンボルとが融合してつくりだされたものということができる。ここでアメリカ／ハワイ的な思想というのはたとえば、「自分のルーツをみつけだす」（"finding one's 'roots'"）「自分の文化を保存する」（"preserving one's culture"）、「自分の文化を学ぶ」（"learning one's culture"）等、といった発想のことである。こうした発想は〈Okinawan Ethnic Community〉の大多数をしめるハワイで生まれ育った二世三世の人たちの間に強く見られるものである。

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INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This research focuses on the Okinawans in Hawaii by looking at patterns of interactions and activities in the context of the Okinawan ethnic community.

The initial formation of an Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii can be seen as a consequence of two main factors: 1) Okinawa's history of subservience under the Japanese, and 2) the status of Okinawans in Hawaii as a minority within a minority.

The beginning of Okinawa's subservient relationship can be traced to 1609 when Satsuma, a powerful feudal domain in southern Japan, invaded and conquered nearby Okinawa, a region that was until then somewhat removed from the political, cultural and social changes that took place in Japan. Although Satsuma controlled Okinawa, it allowed the kingdom to retain some autonomy in its own affairs. In 1879, however, Okinawa was incorporated as a prefecture of Japan. Under the central government of Japan, Okinawa's subservience increased as it became subject to oppressive or, at best, apathetic policies. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 14)

In 1900, a little more than two decades after Okinawa was made a prefecture of Japan, the first Okinawan immigrants arrived in Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. They joined the tens of thousands of mainland Japanese immigrants who had started coming to Hawaii in 1885. In addition to coming fifteen years later than the mainland Japanese, there were differences in customs, language, surnames, and, to some extent, physical features between the mainlanders and the Okinawans. Some of the Japanese from the mainland likened the Okinawans to a different race. For example, one member of the first group of Okinawans to come to Hawaii recalled that they were called "Japan-pake" by the mainland Japanese, where pake was the local term for Chinese. (Yamasato, 1963, p. 19) The differences of the Okinawans from the mainland Japanese was often interpreted as proof of their inferiority. This attitude was greatly reinforced by Japanese government propaganda that stressed the importance of cultural unification and centralization in mobilizing the country towards modernization. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 16) To escape discrimination many of the Okinawans tried to assimilate, with limited success,

into the culture of the local Japanese community. (Higa, 1972, pp. 40-42) At the same time many Okinawans, due to their own in-group feelings and prejudices against the Japanese, drew closer to each other, creating additional barriers between themselves and the Japanese from the mainland.

On the other hand, in Hawaii's pre-World War II plantation society, Asians formed an oppressed laboring class. (Higa, 1972, p. 40) As laborers the Okinawans and Japanese mainland immigrants were treated the same by the haole, or white elite. Therefore, in addition to being a minority within the Japanese community, the Okinawans, along with their mainland Japanese countrymen, were a minority within the wider social structure of Hawaii.

Following World War II, social conditions in Hawaii have changed dramatically. The plantation society no longer exists and old world attitudes held by both the naichi or mainland Japanese and the uchinanchu or the Okinawans, have been weakened. The change in attitude is no doubt due to the majority of the naichi and uchinanchu in Hawaii having been born outside of the social structures that their parents were raised in. Further, intermarriage between Okinawans and mainland Japanese, as well as between Okinawans and other ethnic groups, have greatly caused the blurring of social barriers that had previously isolated the Okinawans.

Hawaii-born generations of Okinawans have also become increasingly assimilated and acculturated into the mainstream culture in Hawaii. Since the arrival of the first Okinawan immigrants to Hawaii in 1900, there have been at least four Hawaii-born generations of Okinawans. Most of these (with the exception of the kibei who were sent back to Okinawa or mainland Japan to be educated) use English

(or "pidgin English") as their first language and have only rudimentary knowledge of the Okinawan culture and language. For most of the Okinawans in Hawaii, not only is Hawaii the only home that they know; it is also the only one in which they know they could comfortably live. In addition, in the years since World War II the Okinawans have had their share of success stories. In business, politics, education, and other fields Okinawans have achieved relative prominence and prosperity.

B. Research Problem

The Maintenance of the Okinawan Ethnic Community and Okinawan Identity Despite Continued Acculturation

Despite the social changes in Hawaii that took place after World War II, many of the pre-war Okinawan organizational networks have been preserved. For example, the locality clubs (organizations based on common ancestral homes in Okinawa) that the issei (first generation) Okinawans started still exist under nisei (second generation) and sansei (third generation) leadership. An umbrella organization for the locality clubs that was established shortly after World War II has gradually increased its membership from fourteen clubs to 46 clubs in 1988. (U.O.A. Handbook, 1988, pp. 4-10) Other clubs established since World War II include Okinawan music and dance groups, clubs that promote awareness of Okinawan culture, and clubs that encourage socialization among people of Okinawan ancestry.

There has also been an increase in the activities of the Okinawans in Hawaii in recent years, espe-

cially following the 80th anniversary of Okinawan immigration in Hawaii in 1980 when considerable fanfare re-awakened interest in Okinawan culture. Many Okinawans look upon this increase in Okinawan activities as a "renaissance" similar to the renaissance of native Hawaiian culture in recent years.

However, in assimilationist models, ethnic identity is believed to weaken as the ethnic group moves into the mainstream society. For example, Milton M. Gordon gives seven subprocesses that happen in sequence as an ethnic group assimilates to the host society (Gordon, 1964, p. 71):

1) Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society
2) Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary
3) Large-scale intermarriage
4) Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society
5) Absence of prejudice
6) Absence of discrimination
7) Absence of value or power conflict

The Okinawans in Hawaii have appeared to have gone through all seven stages in their adaptation to Hawaii's society. Concerning the fourth stage of development of a shared sense of peoplehood with the host society, it seems that while the Okinawans in Hawaii have embraced the fact that they are Americans or at least "locals"[1] whole-heartedly, they have successfully retained an Okinawan identity through the preservation of an ethnic Okinawan community.

This study analyzes Okinawan identity in Hawaii through the observation of patterns of interactions and activities of the Okinawan ethnic community. Joseph R. Gusfield lists two uses of the term "community." One is used to describe a group of people constricted to a certain area; the other refers to the "quality or character of human relationships, without reference to location." In the second use of the term, "community is a characteristic of some human relationships rather than a bounded and defined group." (Gusfield, 1978, pp. xv-xvi)

Following World War II numerous opportunities opened up for the Japanese community as a whole. Many Japanese and Okinawans left the plantations, pineapple companies, and ethnic ghettos in search of those opportunities. Thus, Gusfield's second use of the term "community" is useful in describing the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii as there are no specific geographical locations that are predominantly Okinawan. Further, across the generations of Okinawans in Hawaii there are language and cultural differences due to varying degrees of assimilation into American, local, and local Japanese social networks. Therefore, a distinction can be made between the Okinawan community which includes all people of Okinawan ancestry, and the Okinawan ethnic community which includes only those people who voluntarily seek membership by maintaining an Okinawan identity.

An analysis of the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii will provide examples of how an ethnic group retains its identity despite gradual loss of its culture. It will also illustrate the conditions, internal and external to the ethnic group, that have made the preservation of its identity possible.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Approaches to the Problem of Ethnic Identity

There has been much discussion as to what motivates individuals to unite into ethnic groups or ethnic communities. Several definitions have been offered for the concept of ethnic identity or ethnicity. For example, Robert F. Hill writes about each social science discipline's definition of ethnic identity:

> In general, political scientists concentrate on nation-state integration and conflict; sociologists on class, status and power or social organizations; historians on idiographic and particularistic concerns; social psychologists on perception and discrimination; and anthropologists on culture change or the delineation of cultural boundaries. (Hill, 1975, p. 2)

To simplify the issue, the conceptions of what motivates ethnic identity can be delineated into two basic categories: 1) the "functionalist" or "primordialist" theory; and 2) the "reactive" or "instrumentalist" theory. (Hechter, 1974, pp. 1152-1153; Bentley, 1987, pp.23-24)

The functionalist approach views ethnic identity as based on a group's belief that its members share certain biological or spiritual traits. Michael Hechter (as a critic of this approach) points out that according to the functionalist theory, ethnic identity is a "primordial sentiment emanating in relatively undifferentiated social settings." (Hechter, 1974, p. 1153) In fact, Parsons defines the ethnic

group as a group whose members' identity is rooted in its distinctive sense of history. He adds that for "the members (a sense of history) characterizes what the individual is rather than what he does." (Parsons, 1975, p. 56) Harold Isaacs writes, "In some cases the ancestral homeland, distant in time as well as in space becomes a critical ingredient in the problem of existence." (Isaacs, 1975, p. 45)

The second approach to ethnic identity emphasizes the preeminence of structural factors in determining identity. Ethnic identity is a "reaction" to a particular group's position in society, and also an "instrument" in invoking collective action by the group to improve or protect its interests. Hechter asserts in his criticism of the functionalist point of view:

> ...since the manifestation of ethnic solidarity appears to be a response to the perception of patterns of structural discrimination in the society at large, it is not useful to conceive of it as a traditional or primordial, sentiment. (Hechter, 1974, p. 1177)
>
> Similarly, Stephen Steinberg writes:
>
> All groups tend to experience a heightened group consciousness and to close ranks when threatened from the outside, and thus the removal of this threat also eliminates one of the major obstacles to assimilation. (Steinberg, 1981, p. 55)

In this second approach class consciousness, in the guise of ethnic identity, is responsible for group formation and maintenance. Steinberg goes on to assert that ethnic definitions are often used by groups with higher socio-economic status to deprive outsiders from entering their ranks. (Steinberg, 1981, p. 258)

Alternative approaches to ethnic identity have been attempts to transcend the primordial-reactive argument by denying the primacy of neither primordial factors nor reactive factors over each other. For example, Charles F. Keyes writes that cultural differences become socially significant only in the context of exchange relations between groups. That is, instead of one preceding the other, primordial sentiment and class interests exist simultaneously when groups engage in contact with each other. (Keyes, 1976, p. 210)

While Keyes describes ethnic identity in the context of exchange relations between groups, Jonathan Y. Okamura describes social anthropological approaches that are applied to the level of social "situations". Social "situations" are on a lower level of observation than social "settings", which are referred to as the overall structure of a particular society; while the "situation" is a set of circumstances that affect the individual. Okamura writes:

> Thus it might be said that the structural features of the setting provide the overall framework of social relations, while at the level of the situation concern is on the different courses of action actors may then pursue according to their understanding of their personal circumstances within this framework. (Okamura, 1981, p. 453)

Okamura makes it clear that, on the level of the situation, ethnic behavior is determined on two dimensions. The first, or the structural dimension, refers to constraints imposed on the actor that are determined by the overall structure of ethnic group relations in the social setting. The second, or the cognitive dimension, pertains to the actor's perception of the expediency of certain ethnic behaviors.

(Okamura, 1981, p. 463)

An approach based on the affirmation of the existence of these two dimensions of ethnicity is instrumental in studying ethnic behavior in diverse situational contexts such as those possible in Hawaii's multi-ethnic society.

B. Okinawans in Hawaii

It is necessary to discuss the literature done (in English) on the Okinawans in Hawaii. The majority were written in the 1950s and 1960s and were limited to studies on the issei and nisei. Articles such as "The Okinawan-Naichi Relationship" (1950) by Henry Toyama and Kiyoshi Ikeda, "A Comparative Study of Mental Illness Differences among the Okinawan and Naichi Japanese in Hawaii" (1955) by Ikeda, "Some Patterns of Mate Selection among Naichi and Okinawans on Oahu" (1957) by George K. Yamamoto, "An Accentual Study of the Japanese Speech in Hawaii: Lexical Pitch Patterns of Selected Okinawan Speakers" (1959) by Samuel H. Kitamura, and "Social-Historical Background of the Okinawans in Hawaii" (1962) and "Locality Clubs as Basic Units of the Social Organization of the Okinawans in Hawaii" (1968) by Yukiko Kimura, provide an understanding about the Okinawans vis-a-vis the naichi. However, all were written when the issei and nisei shared leadership in the Okinawan community and only passing comments were made about the coming generations. In "Some Patterns of Mate Selection", Yamamoto concluded: "The Okinawan group...seems to show greater signs of probable decrease in ethnic cohesion...insofar as they lose their separate ethnic identity, are more like-

ly to be merged with the Naichi." (Yamamoto, 1957:49) In "The Okinawan-Naichi Relationship", Toyama and Ikeda wrote:

> What can one expect of this Okinawan-Naichi relationship in the future? It seems that the old definition of inferiority-superiority is passing away. In its stead, equalitarian contacts are being stressed...Old attitudes will tend to become increasingly suspect and will be more difficult to justify. (Toyama and Ikeda, 1950, p. 142)

To a great extent, what Yamamoto, Toyama, and Ikeda predicted for the Okinawan community has become reality; the Okinawans have become increasingly integrated into the Japanese community. However, they could not have foreseen the resurgence of interest in asserting Okinawan identity in recent years, despite the fact that much of the antagonism between Okinawans and naichi is largely suppressed and that much of the culture and social networks brought from Okinawa are fading away.

The awakening of interest in the Okinawan identity was reflected in the publication of a book, Uchinanchu: A History of Okinawans in Hawaii, in 1981. The book was a joint effort by the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Oral History Project and the United Okinawan Association of Hawaii. The articles by Toyama and Ikeda and Kimura were reprinted in Uchinanchu and included with more recent articles on Okinawans in Okinawa and Hawaii. Such articles included important works by Okinawan scholars Mitsugu Sakihara ("History of Okinawa", "An Overview of the Past 80 Years", and "Okinawans and Religion in Hawaii"), Masanori Higa ("Okinawa in Hawaii"[translated from a 1972 Japanese article]), and Seiyei Wakukawa ("Thought Activities of Okinawans"[translated from a 1978

Japanese article]). Uchinanchu also included oral history interviews of issei Okinawans that were translated and transcribed into English. The book is a milestone in the documentation of the experiences of the Okinawans in Hawaii.

However, because Uchinanchu was an attempt to tell the story of the Okinawans' experience in Hawaii, its focus was on the past rather than on the present or future.

C. Summary

There is an abundance of literature on the subject of group cohesion based on ethnic identity or ethnicity. At the same time, however, there is very little work applying such ethnic identity models to the Okinawans in Hawaii; analysis of Okinawan ethnic identity in Hawaii has been untouched.

The first approach to ethnic identity, that which links it to the belief in a shared past, is useful in explaining the maintenance of community ties among the issei and even the nisei Okinawans and their maintenance of ties to the homeland. However, in the case of the sansei and yonsei (fourth generation) who have assimilated and acculturated into the mainstream community, ethnic identity is separate from community ties or ties to the homeland.

Also, if "primordial sentiment" is the primary determinant for identity among ethnic Okinawans, then one could expect the existence of a common Okinawan ethnic identity regardless of national origin. However, the primordial model of ethnic identity was not supported in observations of various students of Okinawan ancestry studying in Okinawa.[2] These students, recipients of a government scholarship,

were of various generations and from different countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Peru, and the United States). They were all descendants of Okinawan immigrants yet the students from Hawaii were the ones to proudly acknowledge their "Okinawan" identity.[3]

While many of the Okinawans from Hawaii attempted to "learn about Okinawan culture" and "search for their cultural roots" by tracing genealogies, learning Okinawan music and dance, and studying Okinawan language and history, few of the Okinawans from the other countries shared such desires. Their focus in Okinawa was to learn the Japanese language and receive training in Japanese business and technology.

The second approach, which emphasizes the link between the ethnic identity of a group and its position in a social hierarchy, is more useful in explaining the emergence of a clearly defined Okinawan ethnic identity that has developed in Hawaii. From this approach, the ethnic identity of the Okinawans is seen as a consequence of their being treated as a separate "class" in the Japanese community. The "reactive" approach is supported by personal observation of the Okinawan students. For example, for many of the South American Okinawans the Japones (Japanese) label was positive since the Japanese are highly regarded in their countries and seen as industrious and intelligent. Therefore, after their national identity, the Japanese identity was important. North American Okinawans on the other hand, were sensitive to the Japanese label as being a source of discrimination and prejudice and thus minimized this identity. The more salient identity seemed to be "oriental" as they constantly referred to "being the only oriental in my high school class" or "never going out with an oriental." It

seems, therefore, that identity is based on the social status or "class" in which the Okinawans found themselves in their respective countries.

However, the Okinawans no longer form a distinct class in the Japanese community in Hawaii. For the younger generations, being Okinawan is a self-imposed identity; one does not need to be Okinawan nor hide the fact that he or she is Okinawan. The "reactive" model of ethnic identity does not adequately explain the maintenance of ethnic identity in the absence of clearly defined forces to react with or against.

A "situational" model of ethnic identity seems to be more suited to the Okinawans in Hawaii as they are faced with a variety of situations in which ethnic identity would vary. For example, in the context of Okinawan ethnic community activities, the "Okinawan" identity would be more salient than in the context of a work or school environment where Okinawans find themselves with other "locals", "Japanese-Americans", "Americans", residents of the same locale or other people to which they may feel a shared affinity.

The situational model can also be applied to overseas Okinawans studying together in Okinawa. Although the students were all Okinawan by ancestry, their national identities were heightened in Okinawa. For example, identities such as "Brasileiro", "Peruano", "Boliviano", "Argentino", "Canadian", and "American" were proudly expressed and subgroups were formed according to those identities. The Okinawans from Hawaii also found pride in stating "Hawaii kara kimashita" ("I am from Hawaii"). However, it is their strong identity as "uchinanchu" that is of interest in this research.

Although situational models of ethnic identity seem to be most applicable to the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii, the primordial and reactive approaches to ethnic identity will not be discarded. The data gathered from observations of the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii and its maintenance of an "Okinawan" identity will be used to examine the situational, primordial, and reactive approaches, and to generate new approaches.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand the Okinawans in Hawaii, one must look at the status of Okinawa as being marginal to the rest of Japan. On the one hand, Okinawa is part of an island chain that connects with the rest of Japan; on the other it also extends to the periphery of Southeast Asia. Throughout history, the same stretch of ocean that provided a waterway between the main islands of Japan and the islands in the Ryukyu Chain was also a barrier to communication and travel. Although Okinawa's proximity to Japan's political, culture, and social centers enabled the histories of the two countries to be entwined, Okinawa was far enough away that it developed a unique history. After becoming a prefecture of Japan during the late 19th century, the Okinawans have since been "marginal" people in Japan, a status that they brought with them to Hawaii at the turn of the 20th century.

Culturally, Okinawans share ties with Japan and China, as well as with Southeast Asia. Evidence shows that Okinawa's ties with Japan are by far the strongest, although influences with China have been of great significance since the 14th century. Okinawa's ties with China were on a superficial

level, with influences being mostly in customs and rituals that were adopted mainly by the upper class and affecting the lower classes only indirectly. Okinawa's ties with Japan appear to have existed since prehistoric times; both regions seem to be cognates both culturally and linguistically. Further, following Satsuma's takeover of the Ryukyuan Kingdom in the seventeenth century, Okinawa entered Japan's political and economic spheres.

The identity of the Okinawans has been influenced greatly by Okinawa's complex history. Although Okinawa is culturally and politically a part of Japan, Okinawans still feel some affinity to China since many Chinese influences were introduced to Okinawan culture via the Okinawan upper class. Okinawans also refer back to at the years that Okinawa was an independent kingdom that once traded with countries as far as Southeast Asia. Okinawa's proud history, however, is overshadowed by a long history of servitude under Satsuma and a more recent history of forced assimilation, continued poverty, and discrimination under the Japanese.

Due to space constraints, however, Okinawa's pre-history, its tributary relationship with China, and its golden age as a trade power in East Asia will be left out. The examination of Okinawa's history will start with Japan's extention of its sphere of influence to include the island kingdom in 1609.

A. History of Okinawa

(1) Takeover of Okinawa by Satsuma

Two incidents led to the end of Okinawan independence. The first occurred when the feudal lord

Toyotomi Hideyoshi began turning his attention towards conquering Korea and China after he had unified Japan in 1590. Hideyoshi demanded the participation of the Ryukyuan Kingdom in his campaigns in Korea in 1592 and 1597. However, Ryukyu sent only half of the supplies that was demanded. Another incident happened in 1603 when Ryukyu failed to show allegiance to Japan by not sending an envoy to express felicitations when Tokugawa Ieyasu became shogun. In 1609, with the approval of the shogunate, Satsuma, a feudal domain in southern Kyushu that had previously acted as a liaison between Ryukyu and Japan, conquered Ryukyu under the pretense of punishing the island kingdom. Thereafter, Ryukyu was a vassal of Satsuma. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 10)

Satsuma ordered Ryukyu to preserve a facade of independence and to continue its tributary relation with China. While concealing its control over Ryukyu from China, Satsuma hoped to profit from the Ryukyu-China trade. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 10)

Okinawa's unusual status as a subject to both China and Satsuma was to last throughout the rest of the Tokugawa Period in Japan. Aside from Satsuma's eye on economic profit, there were other reasons why the relationship was maintained. Akio Watanabe describes the relationship:

> The lord of Satsuma was also pleased with the idea of having a "foreign" king as his subordinate for prestige purposes. For these reasons the Shimazu (the ruling family of Satsuma) did not promote "Japanization" of the Ryukyus but instead preserved the exotic appearance of the island kingdom...This arrangement was also in the interest of the Ryukyuan king and his court nobility who could enjoy a certain degree of autonomy. Nor was it offi-

cially questioned by the Chinese court which did not appear to care very much about the internal condition of the small kingdom so long as it continued to exercise due courtesy towards the Celestial Empire. (Watanabe, 1970, p. 6)

The Satsuma takeover of the Ryukyu Kingdom signaled its incorporation into the sphere of Tokugawa Japan's influence. Although the island kingdom remained a tributary state of China, its relationship with that empire remained on a superficial level. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 10)

(2) Society in the Ryukyu Kingdom

After constant warfare, Okinawa was unified into a single kingdom in 1429. To ensure that peace was kept in the kingdom, the former aji or warrior chieftains from each district were forced to live in the capital of Shuri. As Masako Tanaka writes, a new class was formed; "the descendants of these chiefs, along with those of the royal retainers, were soon transformed into harmless bureaucrats to perform various chores assigned by the central administration." (Tanaka, p. 147) This class was known by several names including yukatchu, samuree, shizoku, and keemuchi ("those who have genealogies").

Below the yukatchu were the commoners, also known as heimin, hyakusoo or mukee ("those without genealogies").

The heimin class engaged in farming, fishing, and other labor occupations and supported the town-dwelling yukatchu class. (Kerr, 1958, pp. 189-90)

The barrier between classes was preserved with rules that specified even the most minute details in dress and customs. (Kerr, 1958, p. 192) Language usage also differed between the "refined" upper-class and the "rough" peasants and intermarriage between the two classes was rare. Chinese ancestral rituals and Japanese Buddhist funeral rites were adopted by the upper-class in Okinawa to complement the existing indigenous religion rather than for their philosophical meanings. (Lebra, 1966, pp. 118-120) These religious rituals and rites reached the lower class only indirectly and to different degrees. Therefore, the religion of the upper class differed greatly from that of the lower class.

The religion of the commoners retained more of its ties to the village kami (deities); the members of the same village were tied together by worship of common kami. Further, not only was the village a religious unit that worshipped the same kami together, but it was also an economic unit. The government exacted a tax quota that was paid by the village as a whole. Therefore the village was responsible in meeting the shortcomings of individuals unable to meet the tax quota. (Kerr, 1958, p. 196)

Because the villages were independent units that had little contact with other villages, there were not only barriers between classes in Okinawa but also barriers between villages. Each village was endogamous and through generations of limited contacts with other villages, developed its own dialect. Even in present day Okinawa older people still claim to be able to recognize a person's home village by his dialect, mannerisms, and physical features. It is also interesting to note that in Okinawa the word

shima, is used for both "island" and "village".

(3) Annexation by Japan

In 1868, Japan ended its feudal era and restored the emperor as nominal ruler under the reign-name of Meiji, or "Era of Enlightened Government". In 1872, Satsuma's authority over the Ryukyus was transferred to the emperor and the kingdom became a feudal dependency of the Meiji Government. Seven years later, in 1879, the Ryukyuan monarchy was abolished and the former kingdom became a prefecture with a provincial government. (Tomoyose, 1977, p. 45)

Following Japan's annexation of the Ryukyus, there arose a fierce factional strife between pro-Chinese and pro-Japanese groups. The pro-Chinese faction faded into the background following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. (Watanabe, 1970, p. 8) Despite the disappearance of the pro-Chinese faction, Chinese influences still lingered in Okinawan culture. William P. Lebra writes, "Although the rigidity of the Okinawan social system tended to restrict Chinese influences to the upper classes and the urban areas where they resided, five hundred years of continuous contact as a tribute state permitted assimilation of many traits which ultimately affected all levels of society." (Lebra, 1966, p. 13)

Japan's policy towards Okinawa in the years following its takeover of the former kingdom has been described by Mitsugu Sakihara as "preservation of the traditional system as much as possible." (Sakihara, 1981, p. 13) Land reform was completed in Okinawa in 1903, thirty years later than on

mainland Japan. Until land reform was completed, Okinawans were forced to pay the full amount of taxes without representation in the National Diet. In 1882, Okinawa paid 655,279 yen in taxes to the central government but the government spent only 455,136 yen on Okinawa. A limited version of a election law for parliamentary members that was effective since 1890 on mainland Japan came into effect in Okinawa 22 years later in 1912. Also, it was only in 1920 that a full-fledged election was held in Okinawa. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 14 and Watanabe, 1970, p. 8)

Okinawa came to be dominated by Japanese from the mainland. Men from Kagoshima Prefecture (formerly Satsuma) dominated the bureaucracy, while merchants from both Kagoshima and Osaka dominated the mercantile world in Okinawa. (Kerr, 1958, p. 398)

Kerr describes Okinawa's early years under the Japanese government as a "colonial period", during which the economic, political, and social interests of the Okinawans were in the hands of unsympathetic mainland Japanese. (Kerr, 1958, p. 409) During this era, a People's Rights movement patterned after a similar movement on mainland Japan was started in Okinawa. The founder of this movement was Jahana Noboru, one of the first Okinawans to graduate from college in Tokyo. His efforts were directed at the abuses of Governor Narahara, the governor of Okinawa at that time. The movement failed, but it was indirectly responsible for Okinawan immigration to Hawaii and to other countries, as shall be seen in a later section. (Sakihara, 1981, p. 15)

(4) Okinawan Identity During Meiji

Watanabe writes that the Okinawans developed an "inferiority complex" towards the mainland Japanese during the early years of Okinawa's rule under Japan. He explains:

> In other words, to the Okinawans, it was not a matter of course to be Japanese. Unlike the ordinary Japanese, the Okinawans had to become Japanese. This was a grim task to fulfill in such a highly homogeneous society as Japan, because it was a problem essentially alien to the ordinary Japanese who tended to be intolerant of insufficient conformity. (Watanabe, 1970, p. 9)

The education system implemented by the Japanese government had a great role in fostering the development of an inferiority complex. Anything that did not follow the standards set by the central government was looked down upon. In the schools, children were punished for speaking Okinawan and Okinawan customs and manners were seen as "barbaric", "backward", and "unworthy of the subject of the Emperor." (Sakihara, 1981, p. 16)

It was probably during this time that terms such as naicha and yamatunchu to refer to Japanese mainlanders, and uchinanchu to refer to Okinawans became more widely used by the Okinawans to differentiate themselves from the Japanese. Kerr asserts that the Okinawans were a single oppressed class under the Japanese government. For example, he writes, "In terms of 'colonial treatment' they were all Okinawans." (Kerr, 1958, p. 394) However, a person's identity was not just a matter of being uchinanchu versus being yamatunchu. In Okinawa, class and regional lines did not disappear completely from the minds of the Okinawans and, in fact, existed until at least the second world war. For

example, marriage between members of different classes or between people of different villages was discouraged. Regional dialects can still be observed among older Okinawan language speakers. Also, some of the older members of the former upper-class still preserve the language and customs that befitted their class in olden times and cringe at the manners of the commoners. At the same time, however, one may also hear the term shui dayaa which refers to the idea that the former upper-class people of Shuri have no wish to try to succeed since they are smug in their feeling of superiority over everyone else.

B. Okinawans in Hawaii

The People's Right movement that was started by Jahana Noboru in 1891 to relieve oppressive conditions that the Okinawans suffered under the Japanese government eventually failed. However, Jahana's lieutenant, Toyama Kyuzo, sought to relieve conditions in Okinawa through overseas emigration. In 1900, the first group of 26 Okinawan immigrants began working at the Ewa Plantation on Oahu. (Sakihara, 1981. p. 15)

Emigration to Hawaii from Okinawa increased steadily after the first group, and the ratio of Okinawan immigrants to other Japanese immigrants was nearly constant at about 20 percent. By 1912 close to 10,000 Okinawans were living in Hawaii. (Ishikawa, 1977, p. 82) A great majority of the Okinawans came to work on the sugar plantations where the work was often backbreaking. When the Okinawans arrived in Hawaii, they entered an occupational structure that was stratified according to

race. Non-white workers filled the laboring positions at the bottom, while the skilled and managerial jobs were reserved for white people. Since the Okinawans were considered to be Japanese by the haoles, or white elite, they were placed in the same level in the occupational structure. The treatment of the workers ranged from unfair or even brutal at some plantations to reasonably good at others. However, no matter how the laborers were treated, they had very little control over their lives on the plantations. (Takaki, 1983, p. 75-77) Baishiro Tamashiro, who came to Hawaii from Okinawa in 1906, recalls his feeling of powerlessness at the hands of the luna, or overseer:

> Makaweli had the poho ("out of luck") system. When you didn't cut well they would say, "you poho" and would subtract 50 cents. They would subtract the money each time from the wages with each of our numbers on. If the poho happened many times you lost out a lot. They were making a lot of money that way. (ESOHP, 1981, p. 361)

This feeling of powerlessness was often manifested in strikes against the plantations. Most of the strikes were isolated outbreaks that were quickly stifled. In 1909 and 1920, however, two island-wide strikes on Oahu by the Japanese (and Filipinos in 1920) nearly brought the sugar industry to a halt. According to Seiyei Wakukawa, an Okinawan journalist in Hawaii, "(the Okinawans) were active in the first big strike (1909) and several outstanding leaders arose from the second big strike (1920)." (Wakukawa, 1981, p. 235)

While Okinawans and Japanese were seen as the same by the haoles, the Okinawans were not readily accepted by the Japanese. The first group of Okinawans to Hawaii, coming 15 years later than

the first Japanese mainland immigrants, faced discrimination from their predecessors because of differences in language and customs. They were called "Japan-pake" by the Japanese mainland immigrants and were assigned harder work. (Yamasato, 1963, p. 19)

To escape discrimination from the naichi, the Okinawans employed various strategies to minimize visible differences between themselves and the Japanese. One was to "Japanize" their last names. For example, the Okinawan readings of names written in Chinese characters were discarded and the names were read by their Japanese readings. Thus, in Hawaii, Gibu became Yoshitake, Yamagushiku became Yamashiro or Sanki, Kyan became Kiyatake or Kiyabu, Ashitomi became Ajifu, Tsukazan became Tsukayama, and Tobaru became Momohara. (Higa, 1981, p. 42) Since the naichi considered Okinawan language "rough" and "uncouth" and Okinawan customs "barbaric", the Okinawans had to practice their culture indoors:

> When my mother played native records on the phonograph, the rest of the family would be concerned over whether they could be heard by nearby Naichi families. My sister would close the lid of the phonograph and adjust the volume to be heard only in our home. (Toyama and Ikeda, 1950, p. 136)

Hawaii was where most of the Okinawans and Japanese experienced face-to-face contact for the first time. The discrimination on the personal level within the Japanese community no doubt heightened Okinawan self consciousness, enough to make them want to improve themselves to be just as good or better than the naichi. According to Wakukawa:

> Humiliation inflicted simply because of being Okinawan drove intellectuals among them to initiate an extensive enlightenment movement which had not been seen among Japanese from other prefectures. (Wakukawa, 1981, p. 235)

This enlightenment movement included the publication of magazines and weekly papers and the establishment of study groups aimed at developing the intellect of Okinawans. (Wakukawa, 1981, p. 235)

An Okinawan identity also developed among people who ventured out from the plantations to start their own businesses. In Uchinanchu George and Claudia M. Atta list the following factors and processes that existed for the Okinawans in the food service industries in Hawaii:

> First, there are informal lines of communication that help inform members of the opportunities that exist in the field. Second, there is the tendency to help each other due to mutual feeling of being underdogs in the system. Finally, due to shared language and cultural influences, there is an ease of interaction among members of the same ethnic group; there is a tendency to reinforce each other. (Atta and Atta, 1981, p. 198)

Cooperation among Okinawans contributed greatly to their success in the food service industries and by the mid-1930s Okinawans became prominent in this field and remain so even in the present. (Atta and Atta, 1981, p. 192)

Although an Okinawan identity was fostered by Okinawan intellectuals and business people, the stronger identity among Okinawans was their ties to their home village. In Hawaii, clubs based on

shared village origins or locality clubs were formed after Okinawans moved from the plantations to urban jobs, especially in Honolulu. These clubs facilitated mutual aid and periodic fellowship among people of the same village in Okinawa. (Kimura, 1968, pp. 285-286)

Before World War II, five "all-Okinawan" organizations were formed, but they all disbanded after only a few years. It was not until after the war when relief efforts to Okinawa required a coordinating body that a successful all-Okinawan organization was formed. (Kimura, 1968, p. 289)

However, village ties remained crucial as locality clubs were the building blocks for the all-Okinawan organization. Further, the persistence of village ties are evident even today as most locality clubs are still in existence with nisei and sansei leaders.

Many prejudiced notions about the Okinawans were passed down to the nisei naichi. For example, a naichi student recalls "Much fuss was made by those whose turn it was to be the Okinawan for one day, for that meant being ordered by the others." (Toyama and Ikeda, 1981, p. 135)

The discrimination against Okinawans in Hawaii had a lasting affect on the Okinawan nisei as many have carried an inferiority complex towards the naichi. On the whole, Japanese language and culture has been diluted in the nisei generation, but since Okinawan language and culture was looked down upon by the naichi, even less was retained among the Okinawan nisei.

Discrimination was probably a factor in the significant numbers of Okinawan nisei involved in labor union activities in the 1930s. Many of the early union leadership was Okinawan and their supporters were largely Okinawan perhaps due to the strong interdependency within the Okinawan com-

munity, and because the Okinawans may have felt that they had less to lose by trying. (Hiura and Terada, 1981, p. 229)

Much of the discrimination against the Okinawans in Hawaii disappeared in the years following World War II. A sign of better relations between groups was the participation of both naichi and Okinawans in the Okinawa relief effort.

Perhaps the most significant factor in these better relations was the maturation of the Hawaii-born nisei generation of both groups into adulthood. Not only had they outgrown the ethnic slurs that they cast at each other, but they had also begun to take over leadership positions in the community from the issei who had still held old world prejudices. The nisei naichi and Okinawans were apt to hold fewer prejudices towards each other because of their shared experiences which included living in the same plantation camps or neighborhoods, going to the same public schools and Japanese language schools, and serving together in the war effort either in Hawaii or on the war front. As a result of these shared experiences, friendships and marriages among nisei of both groups became more common.

The nisei naichi and Okinawans also shared the experience of being second-class citizens under haole rule in Hawaii. Therefore, many from both groups rose in union leadership, politics, and business to improve conditions for all Japanese in Hawaii.

As a result, the succeeding generations of both groups, the sansei and yonsei, have grown up in a period of relative prosperity with animosities between naichi and Okinawans exist usually only in the form of stories that the issei and nisei may tell them. However, it would be inaccurate to say that the

lack of visible antagonism between the two groups does not affect the sansei and yonsei Okinawans; the sansei and yonsei are burdened with the decision between forgetting the past or allowing it to affect present relationships with naichi acquaintances, friends, relatives, or spouses.

C. Summary

Although the Okinawans' closest kinsmen are the Japanese, it was their differences rather than their similarities that were emphasized by the Meiji government which was intolerant of heterogeneity within the Japanese nation. It was due to the differences Okinawans were expected to change and become Japanese. However, at the same time, it was because of these differences that the Okinawans were never accepted as Japanese.

Other levels of identity also existed for the Okinawans. In the many years following the unification of Japan and during subjugation under Satsuma, a system of two basic classes--the gentry and the commoners--was developed and remained relatively unchanged. At the same time, villages continued to exist not only as economic units but also as social and cultural units.

Despite social changes brought about by modernization efforts by the Japanese, barriers between classes and villages that had solidified over centuries were difficult to bring down. The historical background of the Okinawans, combined with their experiences in Hawaii, resulted in a unique ethnic identity. Although, culturally and linguistically linked with Japan, differences in language and culture (and to some extent, physical features) exist due to Okinawa's five-hundred-year tributary rela-

tionship with China and its geographical separation from the main islands of Japan. The differences were often taken as proof by the naichi that the Okinawans were not part of their ethnic group. In Hawaii, these differences were used to discriminate against the Okinawans who came fifteen years later than the rest of the Japanese and who comprised a large minority in the Japanese community.

Although the nisei of both groups were successors to the antagonism among the issei, the nisei shared common experiences while growing up in Hawaii and going through the war years. Cultural and linguistic differences were not enough to stop the integration between the two groups.

Integration has further increased among the sansei and yonsei as they are less affected by the prejudices of the previous generations. However, despite discrimination against Okinawans being less apparent today, one's ethnic identity involves an examination of the past which in the case of the Okinawans in Hawaii includes negative relations with the naichi. The question that has to be resolved by the sansei and yonsei is whether or not to let past relations affect present ones.

A MAP OF THE OKINAWAN ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN HAWAII

The boundary that defines the Okinawan ethnic community, as mentioned earlier, is not geographic, linguistic, or cultural. This is because its members no longer reside in a specific area and since differences exist in language, values, and customs across generations due to varying degrees of assimilation into the mainstream culture. Further, the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii does not

include all the Okinawans in Hawaii. Many, if not most, of the people who trace their ancestry to Okinawa are not involved in the activities of the Okinawan ethnic community. Among these people are 1) those who lack interest in Okinawan culture, such as the sansei and yonsei who would rather identify themselves with "local" or American culture; 2) people who are interested enough to attend Okinawan club socials, picnics and festivals, but not interested in much more; and 3) those for whom being Okinawan is a matter of fact and not something that has to be asserted, such as many of the issei. Therefore, membership in the Okinawan ethnic community is voluntary and must be gained by being "involved" or as the Japanese speaking people in the community might say, "katsuyaku shite iru" or "being active (in the community)".

The goals of the people who make up the Okinawan ethnic community are not clearly defined. However, many of the goals seem to surround the concept of "keeping Okinawan culture alive" through such acts as "learning the culture", "teaching the culture", "building a cultural center",[4] and "sharing the culture". Culture has been made into an abstract entity to which the Okinawan ethnic community is devoted. Culture also has many definitions among the members of the Okinawan ethnic community and this will be discussed in a later chapter.

While Parson's ethnic group is based on a sense of shared history that determines what an individual is rather than what he does, (Parsons, 1975, p. 56) membership in the Okinawan ethnic community is not based on being Okinawan but requires that a person play a part in the ultimate goal of "preserving Okinawan culture".

Within the Okinawan ethnic community there are two very different yet mutually coexisting systems. Both systems are syntheses of American, "local", and Okinawan influences. Yet one system, the administrative system, is decidedly American and "local" in nature; while the other, the cultural system, retains many characteristics of the old country.[5]

A. The Administrative System

The administrative system manages the activities of the Okinawan ethnic community through a hierarchy of officers and volunteer workers. The following are descriptions of the organizations in the administrative system.

(1) The Umbrella Organization: UOA

The unifying organization in the Okinawan ethnic community is the United Okinawan Association of Hawaii (UOA) which is a congress of 46 member clubs.[6] The UOA was formed in 1951 with 14 clubs as charter members, to unify relief efforts to war-torn Okinawa (UOA Handbook, 1988, pp. 2-4). The goals of the new organization had less to do with culture than with social and economic advancement for Okinawans in both Hawaii and Okinawa:

> Stressing American patriotism and unity among Okinawans in Hawaii the organization resolved to assist in the restoration of Okinawa. It also focused on the advancement of its members and active participation in the growth and development of Hawaii. (UOA Hand-

book, 1988, p. 4)

However, the role of the UOA has changed over the years. Okinawa is no longer the poor, underdeveloped area it was in the early post-World War II years but is enjoying relative prosperity since its reversion to Japan in 1972. Therefore the UOA's focus is no longer on working towards the restoration of Okinawa. Also, because of its recent prosperity, Okinawa has been able to reciprocate the aid given by the Okinawans in Hawaii. Much of the aid given back to Hawaii has been directed to preserving Okinawan culture in Hawaii. For example, in the years since Okinawa's reversion to Japan, numerous traditional dance and music artists have come to Hawaii from Okinawa to perform or to teach under Okinawan government or private sponsorship. The Okinawan government, since 1980, has been awarding annual scholarships to students of Okinawan ancestry to study in Okinawa. Most recently, an Okinawan cultural center project that is being sponsored by the UOA is receiving considerable financial support from Okinawans in the homeland. (UOA, 1988 Okinawan Festival Program)

Okinawa's reversion to Japan and subsequent economic prosperity coincided with the prosperity of the Japanese community in Hawaii. The Okinawans, along with other Japanese-Americans in Hawaii, had by the 1970s and 1980s achieved relative success in business, politics, and education. The relative success of Japanese-Americans in Hawaii gave sansei and yonsei, who had reached young adulthood in the 1970s and 1980s, the time and resources to look for their "roots" as many other people of immigrant background in the United States were doing. The activities of the UOA began to reflect a

new emphasis on culture. For example, in 1981, the UOA and the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Oral History Project jointly published a history of the Okinawans in Hawaii. Since the late 1970s the UOA has also sponsored trips to give Okinawans in Hawaii the opportunity to see the homeland. However, the biggest undertaking of the UOA since 1982 has been its sponsorship of the Okinawan Festival. The Festival was first held at McCoy Pavilion at Ala Moana Park, but soon outgrew that facility and was moved to Thomas Square in 1985. Hundreds of volunteers are involved in putting on the Festival, which features Okinawan music and dance, displays of Okinawan culture and traditional Okinawan foods (UOA Handbook, 1988, p. 12).

(2) Locality Clubs

Most of the 46 member clubs of the UOA are the so-called locality clubs that are comprised of people from the same area in Okinawa:

> Shijinkai are locality clubs of people from the same ancestral shi, or city; chojinkai, the same cho or township, sonjinkai, the same son or rural township; and azajinkai, the same aza or hamlet. (Adaniya, 1981, p. 324)

Since each traditional community in Okinawa was self-sufficient and autonomous, each developed a strong in-group consciousness marked by ethnocentrism and provincialism and each possessed dialectical differences and long established traditions and culture. The locality clubs were an outgrowth of strong in-group feelings among people from the same communities in Okinawa. The strong attach-

ment of issei to their ancestral homes may explain why most locality clubs have been in existence for over 50 years. In contrast, prior to 1951, all attempts to establish an all-Okinawan organization failed because their purposes and functions were not as tangible as those of the locality clubs. (Kimura, 1968, p. 286 and Adaniya, 1981, p. 325)

Although the first locality club was established in 1908, most of the clubs were formed in the 1920's and 1930's when Okinawans moved away from plantation labor to urban jobs, especially in Honolulu. Kimura writes that "the clubs facilitated mutual aid and brought into periodic fellowship families which were dispersed in Hawaii but felt a bond of common origin." (Kimura, 1968. p. 285) Although the locality clubs' role of facilitating mutual aid among members became less important when the Okinawans became more prosperous after World War II, Kimura noted in 1968 that the "common bonds of origin" were still being emphasized in the locality clubs:

> Conformity to the group's standard becomes at once an expression of his own sentiment. Things affecting one person involve all others in the group. Such a network of interpersonal relations does not permit easy disintegration. The natural tendency is for members thus involved to perpetuate the group. (Kimura, 1968, p. 288)

Although Kimura's observations were made over twenty years ago, field notes taken at a locality club board of directors' meeting support her statement and provide an example of the perpetuation of the group:

> The meeting did not formally end, but gradually the conversation drifted into other subjects.

> ... told me that the board meets whether or not there is business. "Even if there is nothing to discuss, we meet anyway," he said...Much of the conversation was about sex, football, baseball, basketball, etc. There were two small coolers of beer, juice and soda and several packages of chips and other "chasers". (6/1/88)

The main activities of the locality clubs ... helping out at funerals of club members, holding New Year's parties where the elderly are honored, having summer picnics and fielding sports teams for UOA leagues ... reflect the emphasis on preserving interpersonal relations among members.

However, as the issei members have declined and nisei, sansei, and yonsei members have increased, the identities based on common village or town origins have lost much of their meaning. Therefore, while the interpersonal ties between locality club members have been preserved, narrow village or town identities have given way to the wider "Okinawan" or "uchinanchu" identity on which the UOA is based. Consequently, locality clubs have become more involved in the "cultural" activities of the UOA, such as providing volunteer workers for the UOA Okinawan Festival and in raising money for the Okinawa cultural center. At the same locality club meeting where the notes above were taken, the process of reinterpreting one's identity could be seen in a discussion of the club's involvement in the UOA Festival:

> Mr. .....asked what the club gets out of (helping at the festival) and ..... [the president] said that the work is strictly voluntary. But he said that the club should pitch in since it makes money from the ticket sales. Mr..... spoke up and said "This is only my second

meeting, but I think we can look at this in a different way. By working together, we are creating fellowship..." Mr..... also pointed out that people outside the Okinawan community look at the Okinawans as being close-knit. The Okinawans should not lose this quality, he said. He also added that he saw this closeness when he was growing up, but that it is being lost in the younger generations. ..... [the president] looked at me and said "As you know, this club is all old farts." (6/1/88)

Therefore, the locality clubs are important units in the UOA since they provide voluntary labor to the UOA and provide their members some say in matters concerning the greater Okinawan ethnic community.

(3) Neighbor-Island Okinawan Clubs

On the neighbor-islands, club membership is based on the general Okinawan identity rather than on shared ties to a community in Okinawa. These clubs were established on the neighbor-islands because there were insufficient numbers of immigrants from one particular village in Okinawa to form locality clubs. The neighbor-island clubs include the same activities as the locality clubs on Oahu, such as helping out at funerals for their members, New Year's parties, and picnics. However, since the UOA's influence is limited on the neighbor-islands, neighbor-island clubs also include cultural and civic programs that are usually handled by the UOA or other Okinawan clubs on Oahu.[7]

(4) Fujin Kai (women's auxiliary club): Hui O Laulima

Like many Japanese organizations in Hawaii, the UOA includes a fujin kai or women's club. The Hui O Laulima, whose name in Hawaiian means "club of many hands", was established in 1968. The club extends its membership "regardless of race or creed, to all women who are interested in the Okinawan culture and the activities of Okinawans in Hawaii." (Ohye, 1981, p. 345) As in most organizations that include fujin kais there is a clear division of labor: males dominate the decision-making process while the women provide support to carry out those decisions. In the case of the UOA, the Hui O Laulima provides a substantial amount of work at UOA events and its members play the role of hostesses for guests from Okinawa.

However, the Hui O Laulima is not just an auxiliary club of the UOA. It is an independent organization that has initiated, planned and coordinated several activities and service projects in both the local and Okinawan communities. The club also offers cultural grants and academic scholarships to those interested in the Okinawan culture. The main focus of the club is learning about and perpetuating the Okinawan culture through sponsorship of lectures, music and dance performances, cultural demonstrations, and the publishing of books. Unlike the UOA, the Hui O Laulima places an emphasis on educating its members on various aspects of Okinawan culture rather than stressing only participation in organizational events.

(5) Nisei and Sansei Clubs: Hui Maka'ala and Young Okinawans of Hawaii (YOH)

In 1946, a nisei organization called Hui Maka'ala ("ever alert") was formed. The goals of the club reflects its nisei members' striving to be American while retaining their Okinawan identity:

> 1) to foster a better understanding and acceptance of the American way of life, 2) to provide social, recreational and educational activities for members and friends, 3) to assist deserving students in their pursuit of higher education, and 4) promote understanding and appreciation of Okinawans and other ethnic cultures. (Moriyama, 1981, p. 337-38)

During the 1950s and 1960s it was regarded as the most influential Okinawan cultural organization in the Okinawan ethnic community. The club organized service projects, sponsored lectures by local community leaders and scholars visiting from Okinawa, and awarded scholarships to local Okinawans.

Other activities included beauty pageants, fashion shows, dances and a sports league that included men's and women's teams.

However, with the passing of several key leaders and members the club gradually lost its former influence. In 1988 it became a member club of the UOA.

While Hui Maka'ala was formed out of the youthful enthusiasm of the nisei in 1946, the Young Okinawans of Hawaii (YOH) was formed out of youthful sansei enthusiasm in 1980. During that year a group of 37 sansei, who had just returned from a tour of Okinawa sponsored by the Okinawan government, decided to form a club for young people interested in Okinawan culture (YOH Directory, 1987, p. 1). Unlike the original nisei members of Hui Makaala, who sought to reaffirm their American

identity, the sansei and yonsei members of YOH seek to reaffirm their Okinawan identity. Therefore, the club's activities include learning and performing Okinawan music and dance, helping out at UOA or Hui O Laulima cultural activities, and inviting speakers to lecture on Okinawan culture.

The club's leadership, however, is faced with the task of balancing cultural activities with social activities. Although the club's goal is to promote Okinawan culture among young people, failure to include a fair amount of social activities (such as parties, outings, and participation in the UOA sports league) threaten to alienate many of its 150-plus members.

(6) Summary

The UOA, with various Okinawan clubs under its wings (its locality clubs, neighbor-island clubs, Hui O Laulima, Hui Maka'ala, the Young Okinawans of Hawaii, and others), provide the planning, manpower, and capital to stage the events and activities of the Okinawan ethnic community.

However, its leaders are predominantly Hawaii-born Okinawans who know little about Okinawan or Japanese culture and who usually cannot speak either Okinawan or Japanese. Paradoxically, however, the recent vitality of the Okinawan ethnic community is based on a devotion to "Okinawan culture". Although the definition of "Okinawan culture" is extremely vague to the leaders in the administrative system, it provides a sense of purpose that has overtaken any other sense of purpose that Okinawans in Hawaii have had in the past: the promotion of mutual aid and preservation of interpersonal ties between people from the same area in Okinawa, providing aid to the homeland or America-

nization of Hawaii-born Okinawans.

B. The Cultural System

While the administrative system promotes Okinawan culture through planning and providing manpower for activities within the Okinawan community, the cultural system includes the individuals and groups who are dedicated to teaching, learning, and preserving Okinawan culture in Hawaii. In the Okinawan community in Hawaii, Okinawan music and dance has almost become synonymous with Okinawan culture, and in this section these will be discussed in some detail.[8]

(1) Music

Music has traditionally been an important part of life in Okinawa. In 1690 the Dutch scholar Englebert Kaempfer noted that workmen in Okinawa carried their musical instruments to the field; in 1816 English explorers observed the same; and in 1952 George H. Kerr saw boatmen, policemen, and farmers carrying their musical instruments about in the off-lying islands. (Kerr, 1958, p. 217)

The main instrument in Okinawan music is the sanshin, a three-stringed plucked lute that is a descendant of the Chinese san hsien, said to have been introduced by Chinese immigrants who settled in the Ryukyu Islands in 1392. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 168) The sanshin is more commonly known in Hawaii as samisen, (after the shamisen, the Japanese three-stringed plucked lute). However, the two instruments differ in size and in the way they are played.

The importance placed on the samisen is described by a local musician:

If you ask a samisen player in Okinawa if you can borrow his samisen, he'll tell you "Borrow my wife instead." (personal conversation)

Traditional Okinawan music includes koten ongaku, the classical music derived from the music of the former royal court, and minyo, the folk music of the common people. Since it is associated with the higher classes, koten ongaku is held in higher regard by Okinawans and its instruction is more formal and rigid. Minyo, on the other hand, is seen as a debased form of Okinawan music and its instruction is informal and subject to variations according to the instructor's tastes and skills.

The first instruction of the samisen in Hawaii is reported to have been by Ryoei Nakama, a koten instructor, in 1906. Many of the present samisen instructors who teach koten music in Hawaii, were either students of Nakama or have teachers that were his students. (Higa, 1978, p. 13-14) In the post-war years, practically all of the samisen instructors and their students joined either of the two largest samisen associations in Okinawa: Nomuraryu Ongaku Kyokai and Nomuraryu Hozon Kai. (Higa, 1978, pp. 45-54) Both associations are branches of Nomura-ryu, or the Nomura style of music, which is based on the style of Okinawan court music taught by Ancho Nomura (1805-1862). (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 169) A samisen instructor under Nomura-ryu must receive the proper accreditation before he can officially teach.

Membership in either of the two branches of Nomura-ryu requires that the koten samisen musicians in Hawaii conform to the standardized system of those two branches. Therefore, the koten samisen schools in Hawaii maintain strong cultural links to Okinawa which serve to enhance their posi-

tion in Hawaii as bearers of "genuine Okinawan culture".

Minyo music in Hawaii also became more standardized, beginning in the late 1960s when musicians began forming minyo groups. These groups affiliated themselves with the minyo organizational network in Okinawa which required that instructors be properly accredited before they could teach. (Higa, 1978, p. 60) However, despite the popularity of minyo in the general Okinawan population, it lacks the respect and high regard afforded to koten music. This is because minyo is a product of the common class while koten originated from the aristocratic class. This is further seen in the fact that minyo musicians are organized into groups called kurabu, a term derived from the English word "club". Koten musicians, however, are organized into groups called kai, a Japanese term that has a more formal connotation than kurabu.

While the samisen musicians are predominantly male, the koto, a 13 string zither, is played mainly by females. The koto is traditionally referred to as kutu in Okinawa and is derived from the Japanese koto which was introduced to Okinawa during its subjugation under Satsuma. The Okinawan koto is associated with koten ongaku and in most ensembles, singing is usually done only by male samisen musicians, while female koto musicians play accompaniment.

Like the samisen musicians, the koto musicians in Hawaii have become affiliated since 1976 with an organizational network in Okinawa through allegiance to Nomuraryu Sokyoku Koyo Kai. (Higa, 1978, p. 54)

There are other Okinawan musical instruments that accompany the samisen and koto, such as the

hanso (fue), a bamboo flute; the kucho, a bowed lute; and the teku, a pair of drums. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 168) However, except for the teku or taiko (Japanese), none of these instruments have enjoyed wide popularity in Hawaii.[9]

(2) Dance

George H. Kerr writes about the place dance held in the lives of the Okinawans throughout their history:

> Men and women in all classes aspired to proficiency in dancing. No community gathering was neglected as an opportunity for singing, dancing, and storytelling. Farmers and fishermen in the meanest villages delighted to dance on the beach or in any appropriate open spot in the fields--and still do. (Kerr, 1958, p. 223)

Like music, dance forms differ according to their class origins. The court dances reflect strong influences from the Noh dances of Japan, while the folk dances of the commoners are derived from their everyday activities, their religious beliefs and their village customs, and reflect many Southeast Asian and Chinese characteristics. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 170)

The repertoire of Okinawan dance schools both in Okinawa and Hawaii include classical court dances, the dances of the commoners, Zo-udui (dances created after 1880 and up to World War II), and Sosaku-buyo (dances created after World War II). (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 171) However, just as koten ongaku is held in higher regard than minyo, classical court dances of the old Ryukyu Kingdom

are held in higher regard than the dances created after the kingdom was abolished.

The first known Okinawan dance societies in Hawaii were established in 1906 and were probably informal groups that were taught as a side occupation. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 171)

After World War II, dance instruction became more formalized as teachers who either came from Okinawa or trained in Okinawa opened dance studios in Hawaii. Presently, there are four Okinawan dance instructors in Honolulu (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 171), and one in Hilo on the island of Hawaii. (Since Miyasaki's article was written, one instructor has moved away from Hawaii to the mainland, but returns periodically to keep in contact with her students who still practice at her studio.) There are also dance instructors who conduct lessons with Okinawan senior citizen groups or other informal groups. There are numerous occasions where Okinawan dance performers can display their talent, such as at dance studio recitals, Okinawan Festivals, Okinawan weddings, locality club parties, and UOA functions. Okinawan dance in Hawaii also includes bon[10] dances and eisa. The Okinawan bon dances in Hawaii are the result of adapting traditional Okinawan village dances to the Japanese bon dances performed in Hawaii. Following the pattern of the Japanese bon dances in Hawaii, Okinawan bon dances are performed in a circle around a yagura, the tower where the musicians are located, with spectators watching from outside the circle. The dancers repeat a single combination of movements for each verse in a song.

Okinawan bon dances, however, are noticeably different from their Japanese counterparts. Aside from the different hand and foot motions, Okinawan bon dances include drummers (usually male) using

hand-held drums who walk in the same circle and provide a beat. The dancers and drummers keep time to the music of samisen players.

Especially popular in the plantation era, Okinawan bon dance festivals were one of the main cultural events for the Okinawans. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 170) In recent years despite a marked decrease in its popularity, a few bon dance festivals do feature Okinawan bon dancing. Instruction has always been informal due to its eclectic origins. During the plantation era instructing was done among Okinawans at a particular plantation camp. (Miyasaki, 1981, p. 171) Presently, instruction is done in informal groups where older members teach younger members the different dance steps.

Eisa, a style of bon dance performed in some Okinawan villages, has enjoyed recent popularity in Okinawa and has been introduced to Hawaii. In 1977, an Eisa Club was formed in Hawaii by a group of people who had received instruction from an eisa instructor from Okinawa. The instructor had visited Hawaii in 1976 to teach a course at the University of Hawaii.

In recent years, eisa has evolved from a village folk-dance to a dance featured at prefectural-wide eisa festivals and contests in Okinawa. At these festivals and contests the dancers and drummers perform in near perfect unison, having rehearsed their dances for months in advance. The performers also wear colorful costumes to catch the attention of the spectators. The insistence on uniformity and the use of colorful costumes has also been adopted by Hawaii eisa performers.

In Okinawa, eisa is usually performed by the members of the Young Peoples' Association in each village. It is generally accepted that the drummers are male while the dancers are female. In Hawaii,

since very few men are interested in Okinawan dance, eisa performers are mostly females. Further, probably because the drumming is more exciting to watch and perform, it has been emphasized while dancing has been eliminated among the Hawaii eisa performers.

Instruction in eisa is more formal than bon dance instruction, since instructors in Hawaii have had to go to Okinawa to receive accreditation. Also, unlike bon dancing which is performed only during the bon dance season (summer months), eisa is performed year-round as a stage or parade dance.

In Hawaii, the customs, ritual, norms, etc. of life in Okinawa have been largely removed from the everyday lives of most Okinawans in Hawaii. In their place music and dance, traditionally important in Okinawa, have become "Okinawan culture". No longer is culture transmitted through the experience of everyday living but it requires instead, that it be "studied" under a person or persons who have received the "proper" training and qualifications in order to "teach". However, because music and dance has been traditionally important to all classes in Okinawa and because instruction in both is available to anyone who wishes to learn, music and dance is not restricted to a particular class or group but is pursued by a large part of the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii.

OKINAWAN CULTURE

Membership in the Okinawan ethnic community is determined by a person's role in preserving "Okinawan culture". This is unlike so-called "primitive societies" that anthropologists may study,

where the society's boundaries may be determined by shared skills, arts, values, and other features of a "culture". "Culture" in the case of the Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii has little reference to something that is shared. The conception of "Okinawan culture" differs drastically between the administrative system and the cultural system. For both groups, "culture" is a social construction that exists only through conscious use of symbols, as it no longer exists in the everyday lives of the Okinawans in Hawaii. The differences stem from what each group contrives to be "Okinawan culture". For the Okinawans born and raised in Hawaii. "Okinawan culture" has been created out of traditions that were brought over by the issei and preserved through years of assimilation and acculturation into the mainstream culture of Hawaii. In effect, "Okinawan culture" is a conception of all that is good about the land of the ancestors. The "culture" of the cultural system draws on the "high culture" of the long gone Ryukyuan Kingdom that has been faithfully handed down through the years since its abolition and represents all that is good about Okinawa's glorious past. The following are descriptions of "Okinawan culture" as seen and created by both groups.

A. Culture of the Administrative System

The "Okinawan culture" of the administrative system is a culture of symbols or things "Okinawan" that have lost their original meanings and have taken on new meanings for the Hawaii-born Okinawans. Herbert J. Gans observed a similar phenomena among the second generation Jews in the United States and described the emergence of "symbolic Judaism" which functions as an expression of

Jewishness. Gans' symbolic Judaism is based on separate "cultures":

The first is a jewish "objects culture" that consists of collecting and displaying traditionally Jewish symbols and physical objects adapted to American tastes. The second is a new "Jewish popular culture" that "Judaizes" themes taken from current American popular cultre. The third is a "problems culture" that permits the expression of Jewishness by defining cultural problems as moral issues. (Gans, 1956, p. 427)

Gans wrote that those "cultures" replaced the traditional Judaism that had ceased to be a "living" culture, and they served to enable the Jews to feel "Jewish". Similarly, in the case of the Okinawans in Hawaii, the traditional culture that the issei experienced in Okinawa is no longer a part of everyday life.

The Okinawans also have an "objects culture" that uses symbols and tangible items such as Okinawan food (pig's feet soup, andagi, nantu. etc.), omiyage (souvenirs) send over or brought back from Okinawa, phrases in the Okinawan language, and Okinawan music and dance (mainly listening to music and watching dance).

The Okinawan Festival and other UOA-sponsored activities and events are similar to Gans' description of "Jewish popular culture". However, Jewish popular culture adds a "Jewish flavor" to popular American culture while the "Okinawan popular culture" adds an "Okinawan flavor" to not only American culture, but also to the "local" and "local Japanese" cultures prevalent in Hawaii. The Okinawan Festival combines all the symbols and tangible items of the above-mentioned Okinawan "objects

culture" with such American institutions as balloons, hot dogs, and Coke: and "local" ethnic foods such as kalua pig (Hawaiian style roasted pork) and kalbi (Korean spareribs). Other UOA events take "local Japanese" culture and Okinawanize them, such as the Okinawan bon dances or locality club bonenkai (end-of-the-year-parties) that are popular events among the Japanese community in Hawaii.

Gans' describes the "problems culture" of the American Jews as a fear for the extinction of the Jewish identity:

> Some of the main features of this "culture" are concern over anti-Semitism, intermarrage, irreligiousness, community apathy, cultural or social assimilation, and "social climbing." (Gans. 1956, p. 430)

The Okinawans in Hawaii are also concerned over the gradual loss of Okinawan identity in Hawaii. However, while most of the second, third, and fourth generation Okinawans are too Americanized or "localized" in their values to try to prevent themselves or their children or granchildren from assimilating or intermarrying into the mainstream. "Okinawan" culture and values and "marrying uchinanchu" are seen as the ideal. For example, a young student of Okinawan music or dance will receive enormous amounts of praise from everyone in the Okinawan ethnic community. The same young person might often be urged to marry so-and -so's son or daughter who is "uchinanchu". An expression of the "Okinawn problems culture" can be soon in a committee reports for the UOA Okinawa Bunka Kaikan (Cultural Center) project:

> The project will also provide future generations with a place to remember and continue to

learn of their cultural history. Many young Okinawans today mature without the understanding of the past or the Knowledge of the struggles the Isseis endured to provide them with a better life.(U.O.A., An Overview Of Programs For The 1987 Fiscal Year, 1988. p. 18)

Another part of the "problems culture" of the Okinawans is a belief that there is an intrinsic "something" that Okinawans have. This "something" is manifested in certain attributes that are often labeled as being part of the "uchinanchu spirit" and must be preserved in order for the Okinawans to continue to be special people. For example, a nisei man explained:

> I think I would like to see my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren to be proud of their heritage, not to be ashamed of who they are, but be proud of the fact that they are Uchinanchu. And know also that our parents and grandparents, they came over from the old country, from Okinawa, and they gave us a good start. Probably not all of us succeeded economically, but we gained must more than that. We gained this thing that the old Okinawan people had, which is humbleness and honesty, and love and warm-hearted feeling for one another. You know, we visited Okinawa some time ago. The people there were so warm-hearted, they accepted us so graciously, they invited us - all of them, they came to see us. I hardly knew them. But they came. They said that we were related somehow, they came over and they talked with us, and we had a grand time. I think the Okinawan people are that way by nature, they're warm-hearted and trustworthy. They're honest, sincere. So I want this trait to be carried on by our younger people, our sanseis and yonseis. (interview,

11/28/87)

For many of the nisei who still carry bitter memories of being discriminated against by the naichi, certain attributes make the Okinawans "better" than the naichi. While the Okinawans may see themselves as humble , honest, warmhearted, and sincere, they may believe the naichi have contrasting attributes: arrogant, double-dealing, cold-hearted, and unfeeling.

Gans' descriptions were mainly of second generation Jews who were still greatly influenced by traditional Judaism that was introduced to them by their parents. However, his data on the third generation Jews was incomplete at the time his article was written. Here, a different type of "culture" is added to describe the sansei, yonsei, and gosei Okinawans in Hawaii. It will be referred to as the Okinawan "roots culture", as it is related to the trend that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s which focused on searching for one's ethnic "roots".

In The Ethnic myth, Steinberg described the ethnic revival or the 1960s as a "'dying gasp' on the part of the ethnic groups descended from the great waves of immigration of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." (Steinberg, 1905, p. 51) Although Steinberg questions the existence of any lasting impact that the ethnic revival might have in the future, it may be argued that the ethnic revival allowed the personal search for one's "roots" to become part of the popular culture or the United States.

In Hawaii the impact of the ethnic revival was important in encouraging Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Okinawans, and other ethnic groups to search for their own "roots". However, this search for "roots" affected mainly the younger generations of each ethnic group who were exposed to

popular American culture through education, the media, or their peers. In other words, for many people a certain amount of acculturation to popular American culture was necessary to initiate ethnic awareness; the more "American" a person became, the more "ethnic" he became.

In the Okinawan "roots culture", such concepts as "roots", "heritage", "cultural heritage" or other legacies of the past are important. For example, genealogies and oral histories of issei family members are carried among many Okinawan families. In a conversation about his family's genealogy that stretches back several centuries, a UOA officer said that it is a natural tendency to go back to one's place of origin and compared the search for one's "roots" with fresh water eels in New York that return to the exact stream in which they were born after having been far out at sea. (field notes, 10/12/87)

In effect, the past or things from the past become "culture" for the sansei, yonsei, and gosei. This can be seen from the field notes from a scriptwriters' meeting for a Christmas play for the elderly done by the young Okinawans of Hawaii. The play was an adaptation of the classic A Christmas Story but instead of the "Christmas spirit", "culture" became the main theme:

> The hardest snag in the script to overcome was to write a fitting dialogue for the part where the main character realizes that culture is important. The main character is a young boy who rejects his grandparents and their strange customs. There were three ghosts that visit the boy in his dreams. The first one tells him of all the struggles that his grandparents went through for his sake. The second ghost introduces Okinawan culture [music and dance per-

formances on a separate stage] to the boy and shows him how interesting it is. The third ghost is supposed to show the boy a future that is without Okinawan culture. The scene (that the third ghost presented) was an old man sitting alone with a samisen by his side. The man is alone because his children don't visit him any more and he also cannot find enjoyment in the samisen because he never learned how to play it. The next scene was picked to contrast this scene. In this scene, the old man is surrounded by his children, some of which are doing Okinawan dances for him. These two scenes are two future scenarios from which the boy is asked to chose from. The first scene is the result of neglecting to leurn one's culture, while the second scene, the obviously better choice, is the result of preserving the culture that has been passed down from the preceding generations. (field notes. 10/14/87)

In summary, the culture of the administrative system has chosen and created symbols that have lost their original meanings and have generically become "Okinawan". Taken together, these things "Okinawan" represent all the things that many Okinawans feel they are losing and must preserve (as in the "problems culture") or represent the things other Okinawans feel that have already been lost and must be reaffirmed (as in the "roots culture").

B. Culture of the Cultural System

To understand the "culture" of the cultural system, one must look at its main sources. The first is the folk culture of the rural villages where most of the Okinawan immigrants originated. The

second is the culture of the court of the former Ryukyuan Kingdom. The third source may be found in the culture of professional dance and music groups that emerged after the annexation of Okinawa and the subsequent cessation of official patronage of the court culture.

The folk culture of the commoners retained at least two features that were lost in the court culture. First, the folk culture continued to be tied to the traditional religion that stressed the harmony of humans with the supernatural kami (deities) who had the power to affect their lives. In the traditional religion, women held the highest positions as they were believed to be in closer touch to the kami than men. Therefore many of the older religious rituals and the traditional dances and songs connected with those rituals are still restricted to women.

The second feature not found in the court culture is an emphasis on the enjoyment and participation of the group. An example of this is the practice of mo-ashibi . In mo-ashibi the young people of the village would gather in the night at a secluded spot to sing, dance, and socialize. Etsuko Ogido Higa, on ethnomusicologist specializing in Okinawa music, writes:

> For the commoner class, the tradition of mo-ashibi (field play) was the social context in which, to entertain or to pass the time, folk-songs (rather than classical songs which required some degree of discipline) were played. (Higa, 1976, p. 111)

Mo-ashibi has long since been abandoned in Okinawa, and even among the older people, few claim to have taken part in them. However, (traditional) music and dance for group enjoyment is still practiced in Okinawa among the older people. For example, at folk music and dance events the audience

usually claps, whistles, and sings along with the performance. Also, at performances or parties, it is customary for people to get up and do an impromptu dance, often referred to as kachashi , performed by vigorously moving one's hands and feet to upbeat music played on the samisen.

In Hawaii, because most of the immigrants came from rural villages in Okinawa that were far from the entertainment areus of Naha and from the old capital of Shuri, the emphasis on group enjoyment and participation present in the Okinawan folk culture was dominant among the issei Okinawans. This could be seen in the Okinawan bon dances that brought together whole communities of Okinawans. A nisei man recalling childhood experiences gives a vivid description of preparations for a bon dance on pre-World War Kauai:

> There were so many Okinawans in these days in Koloa, there was no problem in having the bon dance. We used to practice the bon dance. We used to have cans - burlap bags in the can as torch because no electricity. We used to light torch and practice in Banana Camp. We used to practice where Omine used to live by the river, under the monkey pod tree. With the torch light we used to practice. In those days Senaha man [Mr. Senaha] used to be playing (the samisen) , and here comes Kaneshiro man [Mr. Kaneshiro] with the taiko [hand-held drum] — "nanika you? ashi age, ashi age!" [What's the matter with you? Make your steps higher, make them higher!] Bon dance time they play music, like we had Machi playing violin. (taped interview, 11/30/87)

The aforementioned kachashi, the freestyle impromptu dance, remains popular in Hawaii and has

become an institution among Okinawans in Hawaii. There is even a "kachashi contest" at the Okinawan Festival and at UOA and locality club events it is customary to end with kachashi.

Although the "culture" of the issei was based on the folk traditions of the rural villages from which many of them came, the classical music and dance traditions of the former Ryukyuan court and of the professional entertainers that emerged following the abolition of the kingdom were ever present in Hawaii as a few immigrants had learned music and dance in Okinawa before coming to Hawaii. These influences also trickled in through music and dance sensei[11] from Okinawa who came to Hawaii to perform or teach for short periods of time or through the travel of a few of the immigrants and their children between Hawaii and Okinawa. However, before World War Ⅱ, most issei Okinawans in Hawaii did not have the leisure time or money to be able to pursue music or dance seriously. Therefore, the culture among the Okinawan immigrants did not significantly develop beyond its group participation/enjoyment function. However, following World War Ⅱ the trickle of cultural influence from the homeland increased to a steady flow. A second wave of Okinawans that included war-brides, relatives and friends of Okinawans already in Hawaii, and kibei nisei came to Hawaii. Further, the relative prosperity and, subsequently, increased leisure time of the Okinawans following the war made it possible for more people to pursue music or dance more seriously than they could before the war when wages were lower and work was harder.

It is fitting here to give a background of the music and dance culture that was developing in Okinawa following its annexation to Japan and subsequent abolition of goverment patronage of music and

dance. This culture, which developed in Okinawa, was based on the court culture of the old kingdom. However, many of the people involved in preserving the court culture were not of the upper classes, but were professional entertainers. Therefore, the music and dance culture that was brought by sensei during the early post-war period reflects both the trademark of the court culture of the upper class, as well as the influence or the professional entertainers.[12]

We start first with court culture. While the commoners' culture was influenced greatly by traditional Okinawan religion, the court culture was strongly influenced by Chinese Confucianism. Etsuko Higa illustrates the traditional relationship of music to Confucianism among the upper classes in Okinawa:

> In Confucianism, music represents the harmony of the cosmos, and pertains to the discipline of society. This concept in the Okinawan aristocrat's mind should be mentioned in a discussion of musical psychology. To play music is not only to produce sound, but to justify the order of the individual's mind and society. It was the decorum of Okinawan aristocrats to learn music as part of being a person of refinement or a person of discipline. (Higa, 1976, p. 133)

Among the upper classes, the music and dance of the lower classes done for mere entertainment was seen as vulgar or uncouth, and not fitting for people of their standing. For example, a woman who grew up in an upper class family in Shuri recalls that dancing kachashi was forbidden to her since it was rude to dance with one's hands above the shoulders exposing one's armpits. Upper class

youths were also not allowed to join in with the commoner youths' mo-ashibi.

The Confucian ethic also came into conflict with the traditional Okinawan religion that was controlled by women, as the Confucian ethic required that women be given positions that were subordinate to men. In the court culture, the prestigious positions of musician or dancer were held exclusively by men.

Unlike the culture of the commoners which emphasized participation by a group, the court culture developed to be performed for an audience. Music and dance had an international audience, since they were important as a form of "peaceful diplomacy" in the complex foreign relations the Ryukyu Kingdom had with its two powerful neighbors , China and Japan. (Higa, 1976, p. 118)

Because of the importance or music and dance in foreign relations, they were given official goverment sanction. When chinese envoys came to Okinawa to attend coronation ceremonies, their entertainment was the responsibility of an udui-bugyo, the Minister of Dance, chosen from the high officials of the goverment. The udui-bugyo's job actually started three years before the envoys arrived. In those three years he had to select the best performers among the upper class and see that they were trained for the performances at the coronation banquets. (Higa, 1976, p. 119)

Also, when Ryukyu envoys were sent periodically to the Japanese capital of Edo, musicians were ordered to perform as the envoys made their way to the capital and when they reached Edo Castle. (Higa, 1976, p. 121)

There also existed permanent offices in the royal goverment that oversaw affairs related to music

such as the utatutsi-yaku (Officer of Song) who supervised musical activities of the court, and the sanshin-bugyo or sanshin-nusitui (Minister of Sanshin) who was in charge of sanshin construction and selected the finest instruments for use in the court. (Higa, 1976, p. 121)

Following the abolition of the Ryukyuan Kingdom, Okinawan music and dance Were no longer officially patronized and were discouraged under the assimilationist policies of the Japanese goverment. Musicians and dancers of the former court were forced to teach to earn an income and taught anyone who wished to learn. In dance, there emerged a split between people who performed dance as professionals and those who maintained the dance tradition as an aesthetic hobby. The professionals were centered around Naha, the official capital of Okinawa, while the traditionalists were centered around Shuri, the former capital of the Ryukyuan Kingdom. (Higa, 1976, p. 125 and Kina, 1976 [introduction])

Alfred Kina, a sansei Okinawan doing reseach on classical Okinawan dance, provides this description of the evolution of a professional class of entertainers:

> From the middle to the end of the Meiji period the Naha group, whose viability was contingent upon the tastes of its audience, diverged to form separate yet interacting sub-groups and dance styles. On the other hand the Shuri group continued on one line for their own enjoyment. (Kina, 1976 [introduction])

Thereafter, the professional class of entertainers became one of the main channels in which the court culture (in modified form) was spread to the general population.[12]

A notable course of development for the music and dance culture in Okinawa following annexation

was its organization into various "classical" music and dance styles. Each "classical" music and dance style emerged to claim itself as the legitimate bearers of Okinawan culture. The formation of these classical styles has facilitated increased fragmentation of the music and dance world of Okinawa, but has also helped to spread the court music and dance tradition to the general population at a faster rate as cach style has had to compete for students.

Following World War Ⅱ, samisen and koto sensei aligned themeselves with the Nomura-ryu, a style of classical music in Okinawa. (Higa, 1976, p. 20) The three largest and most influential Okinawan dance groups or schools in Hawaii were all founded by sensei who received their training and accreditation from organized dance styles in Okinawa. Consequently, as in Okinawa, the increasingly organizational nature of the classical music and dance styles allowed the court culture (in modified form) to spread to a wider population in Hawaii. The result was a transformation of the music and dance culture in Hawaii from a participational pastime into a pursuit of refinement of character that follows the Confucian ethic that was present among the upper class in Okinawa. For example, a samisen sensei in Honolulu describes the difficulty of classical Okinawan music:

> This music is really hard. You think it's easy, but it's very, very hard. Especially Okinawan music. There's certain things that make so much difference. That's why a lot of them (students), they think they've got it, but no. Some of them 10, 20, 30, 40 years they're learning from me, but still not up to par yet. That (is how) hard (it is)... Like the last word over here, [pointing to scroll on the wall] is says, "No matter how much you learn, there's no

end to it." (interview, 11/11/87)

The classical music and dance tradition introduced to Hawaii included an aversion to change. In music this conservative attitude is reflected in the widespread use of musical score sheets called kun-kun-shi. The notation system used in the kun-kun-shi was adapted in the mid-18th century from a similar Chinese notation system called the Kung-ch'e-pu. The kun-kun-shi originally recorded only the notes played on the samisen, but in this century it was revised to include voice notations. (Higa, 1976, p. 26)

Most of the older sensei in Hawaii were instructed under the oral-aural tradition. However, since the kun-kun-shi has come to be widely used in Hawaii, as in Okinawa, especially by the Nomura-ryu, instruction is facilitated since the students can refer to their kun-kun-shi and learn at a faster pace the intricate details involved in singing and playing the samisen. A consequence of the increasing reliance on the kun-kun-shi for instruction, is that it has become the "bible" of classical Okinawan music; it has come to represent the "true" way to sing and play the samisen and is followed without question.

Another introduction to Hawaii has been the certification system for music and dance sensei. In order to be recognaized as a sensei of music or dance, a person must earn a teacher's certificate under certain specifications of the appropriate style. Like a diploma, the teaching certificate is displayed by the sensei; Without it, no matter how talented or accomplished a person is, he/she is not recognized as a legitimate sensei.

The professional entertainers left a mark on classical Okinawan music and dance by initiating an increased emphasis on pleasing the audience. In Hawaii, this audience-pleasing ethic has also developed, as can be seen in numerous public performances of Okinawan music and dance. These public performances have become increasingly elaborate productions that are replete with fancy program booklets, stage lighting, well-rehearsed numbers, and large audiences. These public performances follow the tradition of geino, the Japanese term meaning public entertainment, with which the musicians and dancers have come to identify themselves.

In summary, "Okinawan culture" in the form of music and dance has a mass appeal in the Okinawan ethnic community. Three main factors contribute to this mass appeal. First, because Okinawan music and dance in Hawaii has been strongly influenced by the participational tradition of the villages from which most of the issei came, "culture" is not restricted to only a small group or class within the community. Second, this mass appeal has been given direction by the koten or classical music and dance groups to which many Okinawans in Hawaii sought affiliation with after the war. Finally, Okinawan music and dance in Hawaii is audience-oriented due to the influence of the professional entertainment class that was important in preserving classical music and dance following the abolishment of the Ryukyuan Kingdom.

THE OKINAWAN ETHNIC COMMUNITY AND OKINAWAN IDENTITY

The Okinawan ethnic community in Hawaii represents an interesting case since its membership consists largely of people who voluntarily assert their Okinawan identity. That is, membership in the Okinawan ethnic community is not determined merely by one's Okinawan ancestry but also by one's actions in affirming his/her Okinawan heritage. A person thus becomes part of the Okinawan ethnic community by "getting involved" in its activities.

Ironically, ethnic identity seems to be greatest among the sansei and yousei who have more in common with other "locals" and Americans than with their ancestors from Okinawa. This contradicts assimilationist models which hold that ethnic identity weakens as a group assimilates to the host society.

Further, the case of the Okinawans in Hawaii does not fit traditional models that explain ethnic identity. "Functionalist" models which maintain that ethnic identity is dependent on a group's "primordial sentiment" (a belief in shared biological or spritual traits) loss credence when applied to the Okinawans born and raised in Hawaii. For example, the issei, especially those from the same community in Okinawa, share the same folklore, rituals, beliefs, values, etc. that perpetuate a primordial sentiment. But due to a history of intolerance by the Japanese community for Okinawan culture, and intolerance or indifference by white society for non-white culture, the primordial sentiment shared by

the issei Okinawans has not been effectively transferred to the Hawaii-born Okinawans and therefore cannot be a significant factor in their Okinawan identity. "reactive" models that hold that ethnic identity is an offshoot of class consciousness are also limited in their application to the Okinawans in Hawaii. Although the Okinawans were once given a lower status in both the wider society of Hawaii and in the Japanese community, these class distinctions have become less distinct since World War Ⅱ and Okinawans no longer constitute a clearly defined "oppressed class".

Situational models which take into account the variability of ethnic identity according to individual situations or contexts seem more suitable in the case of the Okinawans because of Hawaii's multi-ethnic society. In such a society, a person's self-identity can be "American", "local", "Japanese", or "Okinawan" depending on the ethnic mix of the people he/she is with at the time.

Situational models also allow for an escape from the functionalist and reactive models' tendency to view ethnic identity as a static entity rather than as a process. Instead of creating ethnic identity as being the same for all people who share a "culture" or a "class consciousness", situational models allow for observations of differences in ethnic identity over situations and individuals. For example, a 90-year-old issei and a 25-year-old sansei may both proclaim themselves as "uchinanchu", but the meanings they attach to this identity are probably very different.

However, situational models suggest that ethnic identity is passively dependent on each social situation. Ethnic identity in the case of the Okinawans in Hawaii seems to be as active as it is passive; the Okinawan ethnic community has been able to create an Okinawan identity.

To create an Okinawan identity, the Okinawan ethnic community has depended on symbols that are readily identified as being "Okinawan". For example, such commonplace items such as andagi (doughnuts) or kachashi (freestyle dancing) have become to be seen as "unique" to the Okinawans. The existence of many of these symbols stem from the long history of subjugation by Japan over Okinawa and the discrimination against Okinawans by the naichi in Hawaii. Recently, large-scale projects such as the Okinawan Festival or the Okinawan cultural center have become symbols of the Okinawan ethnic community. Not as blatant, however, is the sense of pride that the Okinawans have in being able to put on large-scale projects such as the Festival and the cultural center while the naichi have been less successful.

The Okinawan ethnic community has also been aided by the popular movement to find one's "roots". This movement spurred an interest, especially among the sansei and yonsei, in Okinawan culture and heritage and helped to revitalize the Okinawan ethnic community.

However, the revitalization of the Okinawan ethnic community would not have been possible without a strong organizational network. The administrative system of the Okinawan ethnic community consists mainly of close-knit locality clubs and cultural clubs all under the UOA. The general structure of the administrative system preexisted sansei and yonsei interest in Okinawan culture and heritage and catered to issei and nisei needs by providing mutual aid and social contact between people from the same area in Okinawa-helping out at funerals, facilitating relief efforts to Okinawa, assisting in the Americanization process, etc. To meet the needs of the sansei and yonsei, the role of the admi-

nistrative system has changed to focus on activities where Okinawan culture and heritage are featured such as trips to Okinawa called "study tours" and the Okinawan Festival where Okinawan food, music and dance, art, etc. are highlighted.

The Okinawan ethnic community's revitalization has also relied on the mutual dependence between the administrative system and the cultural system. "Culture" in the form of Okinawan music and dance in Hawaii has its roots in the participation/enjoyment culture of the small, isolated villages from which many of the issei Okinawans came. Therefore, music and dance had mass appeal at least among the issei. Further interest focused on the importance of music and dance in the court life and in foreign relations during the days of the Ryukyuan Kingdom. Due to this wide appeal among the issei, the cultural system has remained active enough to attract many nisei, sansei, and yonsei Okinawan students. However, the musicians and dancers in Hawaii have been greatly influenced by koten music and dance organizations in Okinawa. The trend in Hawaii, as in Okinawa has been to place more emphasis on presentation and achievement rather than participation and enjoyment. Consequently, the cultural system has become limited to people who are 1) talented or willing enough to perform music or dance for an audience and 2) have time enough to pursue music or dance as aesthetic pastimes. However, as performances have attracted large audiences, music and dance have become tangible symbols to which an Okinawan identity can be attached. In this way they further contribute to the vitality of the Okinawan ethnic community. Generally, symbols are all things that are "Okinawan". Specifically, however, symbols may mean different things to different individuals. For example, a clas-

sical dance may be just another "Okinawan dance", but for a dance sensei and students, performing it represents years of training required to faithfully reproduce a dance once performed at the royal courts of Ryukyu. In the same manner, andagi, the Okinawan doughnut, may be just another everday food item to a dance sensei. In recent years, however, the andagi has become well-known as "Okinawan food" outside the Okinawan ethnic community and has found great popularity at the UOA's Okinawan Festival. One Hawaii-born Okinawan has called them "Okinawan power balls" because they represent the power of the Okinawans in unifying support for a political candidate.

The kachashi, or impromptu dance done to upbeat samisen music, has also become a symbol for the Okinawan ethnic community. Kachashi is done without reserve by many of the issei who have experienced life in the village communities where the participation/enjoyment tradition of music and dance was prevalent. Despite the fact that it is customary to end Okinawan ethnic community events with kachashi, there are less people getting up to dance as the issei gradually decrease in number. Few Hawaii-born Okinawans, aside from some Okinawan music and dance students, can be prodded to get up to dance kachashi. Further, although kachashi movements come naturally to the issei, they are difficult to perform for the Hawaii-born Okinawans who did not experience village life where the dance was part of the culture. Thus although kachashi is spontaneous and free-flowing for many of the issei, it requires a conscious effort to learn and perform on the part of the Hawaii-born Okinawans.

The Okinawan ethnic identity in Hawaii has become a conscious effort for the nisei, sansei, and yonsei Okinawans. Cultural heritage is nurtured through education, research or disciplined study in

Okinawan music, dance, arts, etc. However, ancestry and interest alone do not qualify one as a member of the Okinawan ethnic community. One must reaffirm one's "Okinawanness" by learning certain aspects of "Okinawan culture" (albeit through symbols) and by being involved in certain activities that preserve and propagate such ideas. In essence, there are certain requirements one must fulfill before one can become an "Okinawan".

NOTES

1. The term "local" is contextually used to contrast people or things from outside of Hawaii with those from Hawaii. For example, "locals" and "haoles", "local food" and "haole food", "local Japanese" and "Japan Japanese", "local culture" and "haole culture", or "local haoles" and "mainland haoles".

2. The writer was a recipient of this scholarship and studied Japanese and Okinawan language and culture at the University of the Ryukyus with the Okinawans from the other countries.

3. The Okinawans students from Hawaii expressed their Okinawan identity despite the fact that most of them were sansei or yonsei and therefore were not as exposed to Okinawan or Japanese language and culture as some of their South American or Canadian counterparts who were usually issei or nisei.

4. The United Okinawan Association of Hawaii is raising funds to construct an Okinawan cultural center in central Oahu. The completion date for the center is setfor 1990 and its estimated cost is over $ 4 million . Among its facilities will be meeting rooms, an auditorium, a library, and an Okinawan garden.

5. Not included in this scheme are religious groups that are predominantly Okinawan, such as the Jikoen Hongwanji, a buddhist temple in Honolulu and the Rinzai Zenshu Hawaii Kaikyoin, a Buddhist temple on Maui. Although the facilities of these temples have served as centers for Okinawan activities such as bon dances, parties, and organizational meetings, the temples themselves serve the religious and spiritual needs of the Okinawans rather than the need to express ethnic identuty.

6. The rules governing membership in the U.O.A. are stated in the organization's handbook as follows:

> Regular members are entitled to four representatives and have the right to vote at general membership meetings of this association. The names of such representatives are submitted to the Executive Secretary no later than March 31 of each year.
>
> Associate members are individuals who are not in regular member clubs but wish to support and participate in this association's activities. Associates members have all the rights of regular members expect the right to vote, hold office or be appointed to a stand-

ing committee chairmanship.

7. On Maui the writer heard of the existence of one or two locality clubs that were not affiliated with locality clubs on Oahu that shared the same ancestry. However, the membership size, types of activities, and history of these clubs were not available.

8. Not included in this section are Okinawan poetry, arts and crafts, and cooking, which have far fewer devotees than music and dance.

9. In 1987, a club was formed by nisei and sansei to learn to play the Okinawan taiko.

10. Bon or obon, is a religious observation in both Japan and Okinawa during which ancestral spirits return to the world of the living for a visit. During obon, special ceremonial food is prepared and village dances are performed for the returning ancestors.

11. The term sensei (shinshi in Okinawan) not only refers to an instructer, but to all persons of high learning or achievement.

12. Another group of professional entertainers were the juri, or prostitutes who were found mainly in

Naha. Like the geisha of Japan, the juri were trained to entertain their patrons through song and dance. Many musicians and dancers that the writer has spoken to admit that it was the juri who kept much of the music and dance tradition alive in Okinawa despite Japanese attempts to eradicate Okinawan culture.

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